

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-10 OMB-01

ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4341

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 17027

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XG, IT, ,FR

SUBJECT: JOINT DECLARATION OF FRENCH AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

SUMMARY. THE JOINT DECLARATION OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTIES RELEASED NOVEMBER 17 ESTABLISHES A SET

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OF PRINCIPLES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST MOVE-

MENT IN WESTERN EUROPE WHICH IS SHARED BY THE TWO PARTIES. GIVEN THE WIDE IDEOLOGICAL GULF WHICH HAS DIVIDED THE TWO PARTIES IN RECENT YEARS, A PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DOCUMENT IS THAT IT APPEARED AT ALL. IT WAS ACHIEVED BY MAJOR COMPROMISES ON BOTH SIDES. COMING ON THE HEELS OF THE JOINT ITALIAN-SPANISH COMMUNIST DECLARATION OF LAST JULY, THE LATEST DEVELOPMENT IS ANOTHER SIGN OF THE DESIRE OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO PUT ITSELF IN THE CENTER OF THE EVOLUTION OF "A WESTERN EUROPEAN ROAD" TO A SOCIALIST COUNTRY. WHILE THIS LATEST TWIST CANNOT BE VIEWED WITH ANY DEGREE OF BENEVOLENCE BY WESTERN DEMOCRATIC FORCES, IT ALSO REPRESENTS A CHALLENGE TO THE HEGEMONY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS BOUND TO CAUSE HEARTBURN FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND MEETING (NOVEMBER 15) IN SIX WEEKS BETWEEN FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) GENERAL SECRETARY MARCHAIS AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) GENERAL SECRETARY BERLINGUER, A JOINT DECLARATION WAS RELEASED SETTING FORTH PRINCIPLES COMMONLY SHARED BY THE TWO PARTIES FOR THE EVOLUTION TOWARDS A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN WESTERN EUROPE. WE ASSUME WASHINGTON HAS RECEIVED THE FULL TEXT OF THE DECLARATION FROM FBIS. THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES WHAT, IN OUR VIEW, ARE THE SALIENT POINTS OF THE DECLARATION AND WHAT SIGNIFICANCE IT HAS FOR THE PCI.

2. DEMOCRACY. THE DECLARATION CALLS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE TWO COUNTRIES ON THE BASIS OF "A CONTINUAL DEMOCRATICIZATION OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL LIVES." FOR THE TWO LEADERS, "SOCIALISM WILL CONSTITUTE A HIGHER PHASE OF DEMOCRACY AND OF LIBERTY; DEMOCRACY REALIZED IN A MORE COMPLETE MANNER".

3. LIBERTY. THE COMMON DECLARATION DECLARES THAT ALL THE LIBERTIES DEVELOPED IN THIS CENTURY BY THE DEMOCRATIC-BOURGEOIS AND THE WORKING CLASS REVOLUTIONS SHOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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GUARANTEED AND DEVELOPED. SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ARE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, EXPRESSION, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, PROTEST, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TRAVEL, RELIGION, PRIVATE LIFE AND "OF TENDENCIES OF EVERY PHILOSOPHICAL, CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC OPINION".

4. PLURALISM. THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH PARTIES DECLARED THEMSELVES FOR "THE PLURALITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES, FOR

THE RIGHT OF EXISTENCE AND ACTION OF OPPOSITION PARTIES  
AND FOR THE FREE FORMATION OF AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A  
DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATION OF THE MAJORITY AND THE MINORITY."

6. ECONOMIC STRUCTURING OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

ACCORDING TO THE DECLARATION, "A SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION  
PRESUPPOSES PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE PRINCIPAL MEANS OF  
PRODUCTION AND TRADE, THEIR PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIZA-  
TION, AND THE ATTAINMENT OF A DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC PLAN  
AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL". AT THE SAME TIME, SMALL  
FARMERS, ARTISANS AND SMALL COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL  
ENTERPRISES ARE RECOGNIZED AS HAVING "A SPECIFIC AND  
POSITIVE FUNCTION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM".

7. RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. THE TWO PARTIES HOLD

THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL STATES "OUGHT TO BE CHAR-  
ACTERIZED BY INCREASINGLY CLOSE COOPERATION WITHIN  
THE FRAMEWORK OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR,  
AND OUGHT TO GUARANTEE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE TO  
DECIDE IN A SOVEREIGN MANNER THEIR OWN POLITICAL AND  
SOCIAL REGIME. THEREFORE, THEY UNDERLINE THE NEED TO  
FIGHT AGAINST THE PRETENSION OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM  
TO MEDDLE IN THE LIFE OF PEOPLE, AND THEY PRONOUNCE  
THEMSELVES AGAINST ALL FOREIGN INTERFERENCE".

8. RELATIONS WITH SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN FORCES. THE

DECLARATION NOTES THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST THE PRINCIPAL WORKING CLASS ENEMY -- MONOPOLISTIC  
CAPITALISM -- WILL BE GUARANTEED ONLY THROUGH AN  
AGREEMENT AMONG DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FORCES  
INCLUDING A UNIFIED WORKING CLASS. "THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
A SOLID AND LASTING COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND  
SOCIALISTS CONSTITUTES THE BASIS OF THIS WIDE ALLIANCE".  
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OBSERVING THAT THE CONTINUING WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS HAS  
AWAKENED IN SOME CATHOLIC SECTORS AN AWARENESS OF THE  
CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE REALITIES OF CAPITALIST  
SOCIETY AND THEIR OWN ASPIRATIONS, THE TWO PARTIES NOTE  
THAT "THIS CREATES THE EVER GROWING POSSIBILITY OF A  
MEETING BETWEEN COMMUNISTS, THE ENTIRETY OF THE WORKING  
CLASS MOVEMENT AND POPULAR FORCES OF CHRISTIAN INSPIRA-  
TION".

9. SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. THE JOINT DECLARATION OF THE

TWO PARTIES CONDEMNS ANY ATTEMPTS TO PERPETUATE THE  
EXISTENCE OF THE FRANCO REGIME. IT EXPRESSES THEIR  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKING CLASS AND ANTI-FASCIST  
MOVEMENTS IN THAT COUNTRY. ON PORTUGAL, THE DOCUMENT  
NOTES THE PREOCCUPATION OF THE TWO PARTIES FOR THE DIF-

FICULTIES WHICH ARE CONFRONTING THE "YOUNG DEMOCRACY  
OF PORTUGAL".

10. COMMENT. GIVEN THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE PCF AND THE PCI, INCLUDING RECENT DEEP IDEOLOGICAL  
AND TACTICAL DIFFERENCES THAT SURFACED DURING THE PREPA-  
RATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES,  
THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT IS  
THAT A JOINT DECLARATION WAS ACUTALLY ACHIEVED. THE  
QUESTION WHICH NATURALLY COMES TO MIND IS WHY DID IT  
OCCUR AT THIS PARTICULAR JUNCTURE.

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11. FROM OUR VANTAGE POINT, THE STRONG PCI SHOWING IN THE JUNE 15 REGIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS WHICH DEMONSTRATED TO THE PARTY THAT IT IS CLOSER TO SHARING IN THE GOVERNING OF ITALY THAN IT HAD THOUGHT AND WHICH SUCCEEDED IN PLACING THE PARTY IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIMELIGHT MUST BE SEEN AS THE PRIME STIMULUS. AS A  
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SECONDARY FACTOR, WE WOULD POINT TO THE GENERAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE WHICH THE PCI FEELS ARE CONTRIBUTING TO THE GROWING STRENGTH OF LEFTIST FORCES IN THIS REGION. FOR REASONS OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE, AND TO AID IT IN COUNTERING CHARGES ABOUT ITS LACK OF AUTONOMY OF MOSCOW, WE WOULD SURMISE THAT THE PCI HAS DECIDED TO MAKE A MOVE TO ESTABLISH ITS CREDENTIALS AS A MAJOR EXPONENT OF A "WESTERN EUROPEAN ROAD" TO SOCIALISM. FINALLY, THE PCI DESIRE TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A TRULY DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE WESTERN SENSE, PLAYED A PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DECLARATION. WHILE WE ARE NOT AS QUALIFIED AS PARIS TO ASSESS THE PCF MOTIVATIONS, WE WOULD SUSPECT THAT A DESIRE NOT TO CEDE TO THE ITALIANS THE CLAIM OF BEING THE SOLE GUIDING LIGHT OF A "WESTERN EUROPEAN ROAD" TO SOCIALISM PROBABLY FIGURED LARGELY IN ITS DECISION.

12. OBVIOUSLY, THE PRESENT DECLARATION REQUIRED MAJOR CONCESSIONS BY EACH OF THE TWO PARTIES WHICH ARE OPERATING NOT ONLY IN DIVERSE CONDITIONS BUT WITH DIFFERENT TACTICS. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE ON BALANCE, THAT THE PCI HAS ENDED UP WITH THE BETTER DEAL. CERTAINLY THE PCI WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN MUCH HAPPIER WITH A DOCUMENT CLOSER TO THAT WHICH THEY SIGNED WITH SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCS) SECRETARY CARILLO LAST JULY. IN VIRTUALLY THEIR TOTALITY, THE SECTIONS IN THE PRESENT DECLARATION ON DEMOCRACY, LIBERTY, PLURALISM AND LABOR UNIONS ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE CONTAINED IN THE JOINT PCS-PCI DECLARATION. HOWEVER, AS A WHOLE THE DOCUMENT IS MUCH MORE IDEOLOGICAL IN TONE, CERTAINLY A BERLINGUER CONCESSION TO THE FAR MORE DOCTRINAIRE PCF. THE MAIN CONCESSION IS IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR. IT STRIKES US AS GOING FAR BEYOND THE ANNOUNCED POSITIONS OF THE PCI, EVEN AS RECENTLY AS ITS JUST CONCLUDED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING, BY ACCEPTING THE CONCEPT THAT "THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION PRESUPPOSES PUBLIC CONTROL OF THE PRINCIPLE MEANS OF

PRODUCTION AND TRADE...". PCI POLICY UNTIL NOW HAS BEEN TO MINIMIZE THE AREAS WHICH IT WOULD PROPOSE TO NATIONALIZE, AND THE COMMUNISTS HAVE TALKED OF RETURNING TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP CERTAIN ENTERPRISES NOW CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDED IN THE STATE HOLDING SYSTEM, ALL IN AN ATTEMPT TO ATTRACT VOTES FROM OUTSIDE THE WORKING CLASS.

13. ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLAIN, A CAREFUL READING OF THE DOCUMENT REVEALS THAT THE PCI MOVED SOME DISTANCE FROM THE POSITIONS IT TOOK WITH THE SPANISH. IN THE PRESENT DOCUMENT, AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, FOREIGN INTERFERENCE (POSSIBLY A REFERENCE TO THE SOVIETS AND THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE) IS ATTACKED, DETENTE IS DOWNPLAYED ( IN DEFERENCE TO THE TRADITIONAL PCF HOSTILITY TO THIS CONCEPT), AND THE QUESTION OF PCF-PCI DIFFERENCES OVER THE TACTICS OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS IS PAPERED OVER. ALSO ABSENT IS REFERENCE TO RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIALIST COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE. ON THE OTHER HAND, LAST JULY THE PCI AND PCS AGREED ON THE NEED FOR "RELATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION, ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY, WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, BEGINNING WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.." AND ON THE BENEFITS DERIVED FROM A POLICY OF DETENTE BETWEEN THE OPPOSING BLOCS.

14. IN SUM, THE CURRENT EXERCISE HAS LEFT THE PCI IN WHAT ITS LEADERSHIP BELIEVES TO BE THE CENTER OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST SPECTRUM WHICH IS PRECISELY WHERE IT WOULD LIKE TO BE. AS THE LEADER OF A "WESTERN EUROPEAN ROAD" TO SOCIALISM, THE PCI IS UNDOUBTEDLY SEEKING INCREASE INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REINFORCING THE CLAIM IT IS MAKING DOMESTICALLY THAT IT IS A TRULY DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTY IN THE WESTERN SENSE WHICH IS OPERATING AUTONOMOUSLY FROM THE SOVIETS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT DECLARATION REPRESENTS A DEFINITIVE END TO THE STRAINS IN PCF-PCI RELATIONS. WHILE THE GROWING REAPPROACHMENT, AS SIGNIFIED BY THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN THE TWO LARGEST COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE, IS NOT AN ENCOURAGING FACTOR FOR WESTERN DEMOCRATIC FORCES, WE ALSO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIETS WILL FIND MUCH SATISFACTION FROM THIS DEVELOPMENT. BEARDRY

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